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PEACE NEWS

The Weekly Newspaper of the Peace Pledge Union serving all who are working for Peace

No. 13.

London: September 12, 1936.

2d.

TWO NEW WORLD PEACE ORGANIZATIONS

Geneva Youth Congress to be Permanent

"If any reform of the collective system is considered, that reform must be of such a nature as to strengthen and not to weaken the League's authority."

This was the unanimous conclusion reached by the political committee of the World Youth Congress which came to an end on Sunday. Reports from the political (including economic and social) and religious and philosophical sections, which were approved by the full congress, also contained the following proposals:—

- Abolition of military aviation;
- Placing under League control of certain strategic points of vital importance in time of war;
- Breaking down of economic nationalism; and
- A League of Nations newspaper, news agency, and film studio.

QUESTIONS OF VALUES

By Our Own Correspondent

ONE evening last week 700 men and women, too young to have taken part in the Great War, gathered in the hall which has seen so many sessions of the League of Nations, to agree upon the means of preventing another.

M. Henri Rolin, chairman and Belgian Senator, making his speech of welcome, looked down on Chinese and Mexicans, Americans, Persians, and representatives of nearly every European nation, met from the farthest corners of the globe for the first World Youth Congress, conceived three years ago over a camp-fire at Montreux. Several striking incidents soon indicated that the congress was willing to go far in breaking down old prejudices.

When one spokesman was called for from each continent, a tremendous burst of applause greeted the action of the U.S. delegation in putting up a negro, Mr. Edward Strong.

Equally far-reaching were the conclusions of two committees of the British delegation that radical changes were necessary in our imperial system in order to realize that human solidarity which is the true basis of peace.

Dramatic in another and tragic sense was the quiet entrance of the Spanish delegation in mid-session—straight from the war area, dead tired, and led by a girl wounded in the fighting.

Dr. Maude Royden showed how a world organized for peace instead of for war could support its whole population at an unguessed level of health and wealth, and called upon youth to achieve this change in organization which was beyond the imagination of an older generation.

Sir Norman Angell urged nations to abandon those things which were incompatible with peace.

The third day was marked by a brilliant exposé of the economic bases of peace by Mr. P. W. Martin, of the International Labour Office, who concluded by going boldly to the root of the whole problem.

"There is a Chinese ideograph," he said, "called the Wang Tao, the Way of the Wise King. It consists of three horizontal lines: the way of heaven (religion), the way of man (politics), and the way of earth (economics). These the wise king links together by a vertical line, which represents his standard of values."

"Today there are two questions of values which we must answer on each level."

"On the economic level: 'Collectivism or a free system? Social justice or war?'"

"On the political: 'Liberty or tyranny? National sovereignty or world cooperation?'"

"And on the highest: 'Personal integrity or party loyalty? Materialism or something beyond?'"

"If you can agree on these fundamentals, then you will be able to agree on the means to achieve peace."

Among other public speakers were Prof. René Cassin (France), Prof. André Philipp (France), M. Emil Brunner (Switzerland), M. Mounier (France), Prof. Th. Ruyssen (Switzerland) and M. Kochariëff (Russia).

During the following days the three committees dealing with "nations and the League," "The Economic and Social Organization of the World," and "The Moral, Religious, and Philosophical Bases of Peace," separated to cover their agenda in free debate.

In the third committee the division between the Christian and Communist points of view was clearly faced, and the possibility of cooperation investigated. Reports will finally be presented to a steering committee, which will prepare plans for urgent autumn campaigns in all countries.

By unanimous agreement the World Youth Congress is to become a permanent instrument for establishing the bases of peace.

Continuing Work of the Brussels Rally

Among the practical results of the great World Peace Congress which came to an end at Brussels on September 5, were decisions to
set up a permanent international organization;
start a fund by means of small weekly or monthly subscription to be called the "peace penny" in an attempt to raise £50,000; and
recommend the holding of a "peace ballot" in every country.

By Our Own Correspondent

PACIFISTS' GATHERING AT BRUSSELS

By Our Own Correspondent.

THERE can be no doubt that the here can be no doubt that the regarding the basis of the World Peace Congress as excluding them, but there can also be no doubt that the work which they have been able to do behind the scenes justified the presence of some of the sponsors in Brussels.

It was decided to hold the Peace Pledge Union meeting on the Sunday afternoon, and to make it mainly a meeting for English-speaking delegates.

Those present seemed to be mainly "sanctionist" rather than "pacifist", and it was a valuable opportunity of putting before them the full pacifist position, which was done in a series of short speeches.

Canon Sheppard explained the reasons for the withdrawal of the Peace Pledge Union delegates from the Congress. Canon Morris outlined the aims of the Union and also dealt with their attitude to sanctions.

General Crozier spoke of the futility of war from the point of view of a soldier.

The Rev. Henry Carter outlined the proposals for a World Conference.

Captain Philip Mumford dealt, as an aviator, with aviation, and stressed the impossibility of a discriminate use of bombing; he also pleaded for the internationalizing of all civil flying.

The Rev. Nevill Sayre spoke as chairman of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Aldous Huxley pleaded for clear thinking, stressing the fact that most people used abstract terms which had no reality in contemporary concrete thought.

And George Lansbury wound up the meeting with an appeal to the churches and to individuals to banish war from the world.

On Sunday evening there was a conference, at which the Peace Pledge Union members met the representatives of other pacifist organizations in England and on the Continent.

They had come together to exchange information and making contacts, and explained to one another the particular aims and methods of the various organizations.

THE International Peace Congress which has just met at Brussels in the Palais du Centenaire, was a remarkable gathering. Some five thousand men and women from all parts of the world went to it: thirty-two countries were represented.

A huge delegation went from France, no doubt stimulated by the fact that the initiative for the movement came from M. Pierre Cot, who received an ovation when he rose to speak at the first meeting. Among other outstanding people on the platform were Lord Cecil, M. de Brouckere, M. Herriot, Mr. P. J. Noel Baker, M.P., and the picturesque and still upright figure of the nonagenarian, Mrs. Despard.

But this was not a conference of the leisured or the well-to-do. The workers were there in numbers, determined to get down to the most concrete aspects of the problem of peace organization and to reach practical conclusions.

The procedure was, to begin and end with a public meeting and to depend for results on the work of commissions which were allotted the task of considering propaganda methods in support of the four points accepted in general as the basis of work. Thus, on the Aviation Commission were M. Bouché, from France, M. Viruly, Commander of the Royal Dutch Air Lines, and Mr. Scott; while the chairman was General Poudroux.

These arrived at the conclusion that the only way to peace is through total disarmament and abolition of national air, military, and naval forces, and suggested this in a programme for work among airmen in every country.

A summary of fourteen reports is not possible, and this one must serve as a sample, both of the quality of those serving and the kind of conclusions reached in the commissions.

If some of the ends pursued appear unachievably remote, let us take heart from the saying of Dr. Nansen, quoted at the opening meeting by Mrs. Nansen, who came from Norway to make her first public speech in support of peace:

The difficult takes time. The impossible only takes a little longer.

The congress was not a pacifist gathering, though many pacifists were there. It was a congress of men and women anxious to eliminate war from human relationships, and to organize a world of peace. If those present could control national policies there would be no more war.

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Peace Pledge Union

BUILDING A WAY OF LIFE

Questions on Policy

From Our Own Correspondents

THE provision of actual training in the way of peace is the purpose behind the campaign which the Bedfordshire Regional Committee of the Peace Pledge Union is carrying on to secure the formation of a team in every village and town where there is at least one member.

This was one of the plans made at a meeting of the committee on Monday in Bedford. Others included:

A monthly meeting for all Bedfordshire members, to be held in Bedford on the first Monday in each month.

Members living in the town of Bedford to be divided into four groups,—Young Peoples', Southern, Eastern, and North-Western.

Members to be asked to subscribe a minimum of 3d. per month, one third to be used for group expenses, one third for regional committee expenses, and one third to be sent to headquarters.

Mr. Steel and Mr. Hopkinson were elected to represent the P.P.U. on the Bedford Peace Council.

A meeting of members of the Northampton team will take place on Tuesday, at which it is hoped to get a "live" group started. The Power of Non-Violence, by Richard Gregg, is to be the subject for a study group composed of members of this team which will come together for the first time at the Friends' Meeting House, Wellington Street, at 9 a.m. on September 27.

Corporation regulations were defied by the Bradford team when they held a meeting in Lister Park on Saturday of last week.

Permission to hold the meeting was applied for, but they were informed that it would be contrary to the regulations. The meeting, at which the chief speaker was Miss Ellen Wilkinson, was preceded by a procession, led by a band.

The telephone number of the Peace Pledge Union headquarters, at 96 Regent Street, London, W.1, has been changed to Regent 2843 and 2844.

Questions relating to the policy of the Peace Pledge Union in various directions were asked when Canon Morris addressed the Stoke Newington team recently.

So far as the threat of another war was concerned, he felt that they might not be able to prevent the next war; but even if they could not they were building up a movement and a way of life which could ultimately put an end to war.

On the question of whether they should refuse to pay war taxes, there had been a special conference and it was agreed that such a refusal would not be a wise or effective step. The tax collectors would distrain, and in any event, whatever taxes the Government collected, money for armaments would be found—social services would be the first to suffer.

With regard to economic questions, they realized that there would have to be some change but they could not deal with everything and as a movement they were fully occupied at present with their particular message.

In the Wembley district a group has been formed to link up all pacifists in the district, especially those who have signed the peace pledge. This group, which held its first quarterly meeting on Thursday, is arranging to hold a youth conference, followed by an open public meeting, during the early part of November.

(continued at foot of column 2)

Fellowship of Reconciliation

FOLLOWING UP THOSE SUMMER MEETINGS

DURING the summer months, considerable interest has been aroused at Eastbourne by open-air peace meetings, and this is being followed up by a meeting to be held on September 21 in the Y.M.C.A., Eastbourne, with the object of forming a branch of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. The meeting will be addressed by Frank Hancock, of Lewes.

The same speaker will be addressing meetings arranged by the Peace Pledge Union at the Perryment Library, Haywards Heath, at 8 p.m. on September 23, and at "Windyridge", Cooden Drive, Bexhill, at 8 p.m. on September 24.

Frank Hancock, who is a prominent member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and a well-known speaker on pacifist questions, has been specially active in spreading the pacifist message in Lewes. So much so that

during the "peace ballot" the highest percentage of Christian pacifist votes registered in any town or district in the country came from Lewes.

Since then, pacifism has gone further ahead, and as a result of the rally held in July inquiries came in for help to form groups and assist small ones already established in Sussex.

The Winchmore Hill and District Group of the Fellowship have arranged for a public meeting to be held at the Winchmore Hill Methodist Church Hall, Green Lanes, N.21 on Wednesday, at which the Rev. B. C. Hopson will speak on "Towards a friendly world". Mr. G. Stuart Lampard will be in the chair.

NO MORE WAR MOVEMENT

Activities in Sheffield

A public meeting in one of the rooms of the Victoria Hall on September 30, is one of the activities already arranged by the Sheffield branch of the No More War Movement. The meeting will be addressed by Muriel Wallhead-Nicol (of the National Committee of the Movement).

The secretary of the Sheffield branch has taken the initiative in calling together all men in the district who have signed the peace pledge. A meeting of the signatories will be held in the Lecture Hall at the Victoria Hall on Thursday next.

There are about forty members of the Movement in the Cardiff district, and a meeting will be held in the Friends' Meeting House, 43 Charles Street, on Tuesday, at which it is proposed to set up a local branch.

(continued from column 1)

The Stepney team is holding meetings every Tuesday at 8 p.m., at the Dewdrop Inn, 71 Vallance Road, Whitechapel, E.1.

A speakers' class is one of the ideas being put into operation by the New Southgate team; at the class to be held on Tuesday, speakers are asked to be prepared to speak for five to ten minutes on

Why our policy must start in Britain first, or

Why I am a pacifist, or

The pacifist and anti-gas drill.

This group is also organizing a debating team, a dramatic society, study group, and a library. One member has undertaken responsibility for publicity work, and is also acting as representative of PEACE NEWS.

Local Peace Councils

REGIONAL FEDERATION FOR LONDON

Well over a hundred towns and districts in the United Kingdom now have peace councils.

Nearly a quarter of these are in the London area. To make their work of coordination still more effective these are to be linked together in a London Federation of Peace Councils.

A meeting for this purpose has been called by the National Peace Council and will be held in the Livingstone Hall, Westminster, on September 23.

An open-air meeting on the race-course each Thursday, is one of the regular activities of the Northampton Peace Council. This council also hopes to arrange a big meeting about November 11.

The Southend and District Council is another one which is not allowing Armistice Day to pass without some special form of work for peace, and a peace week has been arranged for

Please Order Your
PEACE NEWS
EARLY

November 8 to 15. The Southend Council was represented at Brussels, and at a public meeting on September 28 at Raven's Hall, Victoria Circus, the delegates will give their reports.

At a meeting called for Friday next, the Cardiff and District Movement against war is to consider forming itself into a peace council. The meeting will be held at the Friends' Meeting House, 43 Charles Street, and interested bodies are invited to send two representatives. Future activities include a large public meeting on November 15, at which Brig.-Gen. Crozier and Mr. Fenner Brockway have consented to be the speakers.

The Anti-War Exhibition to be shown by Kilmarnock and District Peace Council from September 21 to 26, in the Cooperative Hall, Dunlop Street, will be opened by Bailie David Bowman. The exhibition will be open daily from midday until 9 p.m.

MAYOR'S PART IN PEACE WEEK

Bolton's Big Campaign

Civic support is being given to the peace week organized for September 21 to 27 in Bolton.

The Mayor, who went, with the secretary (Mr. P. N. Harker) to Brussels for the World Peace Congress last week-end, has issued a public appeal for funds for the week. He himself will preside over the concluding rally on the Sunday, when Miss A. Ruth Fry and Mr. Maurice Dobb will speak.

Every day during the peace week the Cambridge Anti-War Exhibition will be on show in the Cooperative Hall, where it will be "opened" each day by some local leader of thought. In the local cinemas will be shown the banned peace film.

Scores of meetings will be held at factory-gates, street corners, and elsewhere, and there will be demonstrations, poster parades, and a procession through the town. There will be a special youth demonstration and even a procession for children was planned, as well as an essay competition organized in the schools. Another feature of the peace week will be the sale (in aid of the expenses) of ten thousand special peace badges.

PLANS TO FOLLOW UP LANSBURY'S APPEAL

By Our Own Correspondent

At a meeting of the Friends' Peace Committee, held on Thursday of last week, the secretary was asked to put plans before the next meeting of the Committee, which should specially occupy Friends in the coming weeks on the lines of Mr. George Lansbury's appeal for a new world conference to be held in a spirit of readiness to make sacrifices for peace (which is summarized on page 7 of this issue).

The Committee also sent a message to Mr. Lansbury, expressing its gratitude for keeping alive the need for change in world affairs by conference.

MOTOR TOUR FOR PEACE

At all meetings and in all conversations one thing seemed definite: the pacifist movement cannot be built on fear.

Once people understood that we did not appeal to their cowardice but to their courage their sympathy began to awaken—from such an awakening a great movement awaits development.

So writes Mr. R. E. Abbott, describing the work done on this year's

A NEW ANTI-WAR EXHIBITION

In addition to the peace exhibitions we have mentioned in our columns from time to time, we would commend to our readers the Anti-War Exhibition of posters, cartoons, newspaper cuttings, &c., organized by the Peace Society of Newark, Nottinghamshire, which is to be shown from November 11 to 14.

The Peace Society appeals to you for contributions or loans of any material which might be suitable for the Exhibition.

It is hoped that the Exhibition will eventually become of national importance, when it will supplement the valuable work being done by the few exhibitions which are already well-known.

Readers who can help should write to the Anti-War Exhibition Committee, 27 Hardwick Avenue, Newark.

motor peace tour arranged by the Northern Friends' Peace Board.

The tour lasted from August 17 to 28, and, speaking at open-air meetings, distributing literature, and personal contacts all helped to spread the message of peace, very little of the literature being thrown away.

INTERNATIONAL WEEK-END

An "International Week-end", at which several peace organizations will be represented, will be held at the Youth Hostel at Ash Farm, Jevington, near Polgate, Sussex, on October 3 and 4.

Many foreign visitors will be present and the programme includes group discussion, community singing, and a South Downs ramble on the Sunday.

Cooking facilities or meals can be provided and bookings should state which will be required, and should be sent either to Arthur E. Hobbs, "Rose-dale", Woodmere Avenue, Monks Orchard, Croydon, Surrey, or to Mr. Sydney W. Fullerton, 5 Selsdon Road, West Norwood, S.E.27.

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RUSSIAN PACIFISTS' APPEAL

Refusal to Participate in War Preparations

A STIRRING appeal for the workers of the world to refuse to participate in preparation for any war in contained in a manifesto which has been received by the War Resisters' International from members of the agricultural community settlement, "Bratski Trud" ("Brotherly Labour"), in West Siberia.

They also suggest an international congress of peace and freedom to unite all the workers who do not want to support the old order and to participate in its violence, exploitation, wars, and war preparations.

We are informed by the War Resisters' International that it is not in their power to organize a world conference on the scale suggested, but the substance of the declaration will be debated at their International Conference to be held next year, which will be of as world-wide a character as possible.

COMING OF A NEW ORDER

IF we could reject all the tremendous war budgets (declares the manifesto) and disband the armies (as has been suggested by the Soviet Union);

If we could forge the swords and tanks into sickles and ploughs; set free the soil and set the numerous army and civil officers to useful work;

We should remove a heavy burden and bring a mitigation of the suffering of the peoples, which cannot be acquired by conquest of colonies or by the bloody alteration of the world's map.

Instead of making use of the enormous natural wealth by peaceful, fraternal and common work, we are taught to fight between empires; taught that these peaceful working millions must fight against each other.

Is not not time to end this madness?

At one time the priests demanded oxen and lambs from the superstitious people, as offerings to their fantastic gods and the people in their blindness have given them. But these superstitions have passed and the people laugh at such sacrifices.

Yet the modern sacrifices are much more mad. Such sacrifices as the people are today asked to make to their political gods are greater than the world has ever seen before.

Will the people do it?

If it has been possible to regain consciousness and to end the foolish sacrificing of beasts on the altar, is it not possible to refuse to sacrifice innocent people, by the million, on the altar of war?

There is now only one thing. Not the will of the governors, politicians, and dictators. Not the will of the ecclesiastic people, but the true will of the working millions of workmen and farmers themselves. This will must be felt in the world.

Brothers! Workers! Farmers of the whole world! Wherever you may be—at home—on the battlefield—in the army or navy—in the factory or behind the plough—in ordinary dress or soldier's or sailor's uniform.

awake from the eternal sleep!

You have to choose—life or death. Death in consequence of blind obedience, or life by the execution of your own free and sensible will for peace and fraternal work.

The great hour has come! The old order which accepts blind obedience must fail.

A new world of sane, peaceful, free collective will of the workers themselves, who are firmly determined to refuse obedience to this madness; a world of brotherhood, solidarity and cooperation of all the nations must be born.

If a few lunatics start a scuffle involving some more people, it is not necessary that the others start a general battle. It is enough not to obey these lunatics in order to suppress their mad action.

The best thing to do in the strug-

gle against the world-madness, against the new war and the whole old order of the world, is to refuse to obey the incendiary of war, to refuse to participate in violence, taxes, armaments and armies on the part of the awaking millions of working people, directing their efforts to peaceful work and cooperation only.

The coming to life of this new order is impossible through an anarcho-chaotic seizure of power, even by working people. The resulting chaos and lawlessness cannot give the world life and peace.

We, peaceful Russian anti-militarists, Christians who agree with the views of E. N. Tolstoy regarding state and social life, announce to all the workers of the whole world, in view of the danger of a new world-war, that we have voluntarily changed the whole order of our life for the real liberation from militarism and for the fight against war, and that—opposing not only war, but all its causes, and wishing prosperity to the whole of working humanity—we think that the way of peaceful, fraternal and communal life is also the one of giving up all the products of our peaceful agricultural work to peaceful and common purposes for the surrounding society.

We appeal to you to dedicate all the strength of your million-fold will and all the results of your work, entirely to peaceful aims.

We appeal to you to bring forward and to develop the peaceful, free collective life of the non-violent working society and the brotherhood of all the workers in all countries.

In order to further the great world revolution which brings with it the real liberation of all the workers and the salvation of the world from the danger of the world catastrophe, we suggest the organization of an International Congress whose fundamental tasks would be:—

1. To reveal the urgent, existing wish of the workers in all countries for peace and freedom, as a reaction to the developing war, and to express their determined protest against war.

2. To make a start with the great world unity of all the workers striving for peace and freedom.

3. To contribute with these efforts to the rise of the new order which is based on the brotherhood of the people, on equal and common exploitation of the soil and all its natural wealth and on the non-violent life of the peaceful, free collective society of the workers in all countries, and which will replace the old, violent and exploiting order and militarism.

4. To indicate the ways of the rise of the life of this new, free, anti-militarist society and the liberation movement within the existing regulations of the surviving old order with its wars, militarism, violence and colonial and class exploitation, and also to show the practical measures for the refusal to support the existence of this old order.

A League of Nations ends a Conflagration

A true story, in which a Czechoslovak fire engine, pumping Austrian water, extinguished a Hungarian fire, was reported by the Vienna Correspondent of the "Times" last week.

The frontiers of the three countries meet near Bratislava, and, (says the report), fire engines from the three countries answered the call, customs barriers, monetary restriction and all the other barbed wire of post-war political recriminations falling in this hour of common need and succour.

In Hungary drought conditions prevailed and the Czechoslovak motor-pump was quickly run into Austria to draw water from a well there.

Three hours' hard work by people from the three countries resulted in the fire being subdued.

AND THE MORAL . . . ?

AN EXPERIMENT IN AUSTRIA

Ideals Expressed in Action

MARIENTHAL, a small village in eastern Austria, is the scene of a work camp at which young people of various nationalities tackle a task which will benefit the group, and which at the same time enriches the life of each one who takes part.

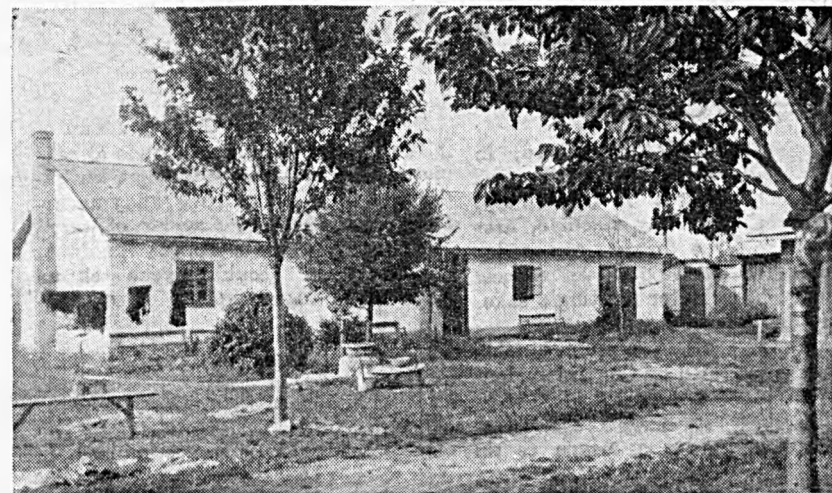
According to A. Willard Jones, who describes a visit to the camp in "The Friend", during periods of prosperity the spinning and weaving mills in Marienthal employed as many as 1,500 people. Nowadays, however, not more than 100 persons obtain employment.

Local and foreign Quakers established the work camp, the primary task of which is to reclaim waste land in order that it may be converted into gardens for the unemployed. This involves levelling hillocks and dumping the soil on the marshy ground.

Eighteen Austrians are working regularly at the camp this year, the remaining workers consisting of a steady stream of visitors from abroad, who stay for as long as they are able.

Mr. Willard Jones points out that the spirit of the camp is

the sincere desire of young people today to express their ideals in action. Surely the method of Marienthal is sufficiently successful to warrant the wide extension of such co-



operative experiences of international fellowship.

The accompanying photograph is one of three of the camp itself, which are being sold as postcards at twopence each in order to raise funds for the work camp. Any readers wishing to help should send an order, accompanied by a stamped addressed envelope, to Mr. L. Hugh Doncaster, 124a Gough Road, Birmingham, 15.

INDIAN CONCILIATION ATTEMPT

May Succeed Where Politics Failed

WHAT "practical politics" has failed to do in the direction of making peace in India, "spiritual statesmanship" may well achieve.

This, at any rate, is what is to be attempted by Mr. and Mrs. Carl Heath, who intend to leave England at the end of October and spend some "three months in India. "Spiritual statesmanship" was one of the phrases used in a letter describing Mr. Heath's qualifications for service in India and asking the Meeting for Sufferings (the executive body of the Society of Friends) to support him in this work.

Speaking of his concern to that body on Friday of last week, Mr. Heath said that he and his wife hoped especially to help with the problem of the "untouchables". "This question," he said, "is one which people in this country ought to know a great deal more about".

In addition to mission work, however, Mr. Heath hoped to follow up contacts with Indian leaders in order to further, as far as possible, the cause of conciliation between Great Britain and India.

AMERICAN PEACE PLAYERS' HUSTLE

Three troupes of the Brookwood Labour Players, who have recently completed a tour for the Labour Division of the Emergency Peace Campaign in America,

travelled 15,000 miles, through 24 States, to take part in 120 engagements, in front of audiences totalling 40,000 people.

The plays making up their repertoire were written, directed, staged, and acted by the students of Brookwood Labour College, and the plot of each dealt with some industrial problem.

The hero of one of the plays, in which a leader of the rayon workers' union calls his men out of the plant when the "boss" tries to turn it into a munitions factory, declares that this strike action

is our vote against war, our mandate for peace. Let them see if they can fight a war without us!

WHAT DO WE WANT?

Our first task is to know what we want. Commonly we say peace. That is not true. We want defence as well as peace, which is an entirely different thing. War has resulted in the past because of the measures which nations took for defence.—Sir Norman Angell, in a speech to the Students' International Union, Geneva, August 26.

PEACE NEWS

Editorial Office:

59 Waterfall Road, London, N.11.

Tel: Enterprise 1888.

The Weekly Newspaper of the Peace Pledge Union
Taking the Constructive Pacifist Position, but
providing news, information and an open forum
Serving all who are working for Peace

September 12, 1936.

HELP US TO HELP YOU!

ALTHOUGH PEACE NEWS seeks to take its place in that class of journalism that meets the need of the modern world for news in attractive, readable, and up-to-date form, it is to be hoped that it will never relapse into mere mimicry, but will always be a newspaper with a difference—chiefly the difference that it has a deeper purpose, the promotion of the cause that all profess to have at heart, peace. For that reason we make no apology for an occasional personal word to our readers, such as we address to them now.

That PEACE NEWS is meeting the need for a popular peace newspaper there can be no doubt. One has only to read the compliments that come to us daily in business and other communications—expressions calculated to make even a commercially-minded editor blush!—to realize that.

But we are by no means satisfied! We want to give better value for your money. In particular, we want to give you four more pages every week—half as much help again as we believe we are giving to you who are doing your "bit" for the "Great Peace".

But we too need help if this is to be made possible. We need more readers, more subscribers. If each of our regular readers secured only two new regular readers even it would be possible for us to increase the size of the paper. We appeal to our readers, therefore, not as a commercial concern inviting customers to double dividends, but as fellow workers for the greatest and most urgent of all causes, to do their bit to double our circulation, enable us to give better service, and so help to spread the message of peace and how to get it to an ever widening field.

FILL IN THE FORM ON PAGE FIVE, or ORDER "PEACE NEWS" FROM YOUR NEWSAGENT, GET OTHERS TO SUBSCRIBE, and SEE THAT "PEACE NEWS" IS ON SALE AT ALL MEETINGS IN YOUR DISTRICT.

AN ORDER OF friends

The Beginnings of a



Warless Economic System?

The purpose of the Upholland experiment is to test the possibility of a collective and balanced scheme of production by a group, or society, of unemployed men and of a workable system of distribution, or exchange, within the group.

There is no question of sale or exchange outside the group, and therefore no possibility of competition with ordinary industry. The experiment is not an economic enterprise, and members of the group will not become self-supporting. They will continue to require the cash assistance they receive from the State.

Members of the group fulfill their allotted tasks and are credited with the number of hours worked. The commodities go into a common store, and are priced in terms of the number of hours' work necessary for their production and a sum of money equal to the cost of seeds or feeding stuffs or materials, or other cash outlay that has been incurred.

THE possibilities of this attempt to ensure for man a full development of personality within the social and economic life are tremendous. But how far it goes toward establishing a system that has not "the roots of war" in it cannot yet be foreseen.

For it cannot be too strongly emphasized that the work carried on by an Order of friends is still, and must be for two or three years at least, only an experiment.

by Ampersand

Babel will be lifted. Pick up the telephone in any of its 2,000 seats, and the words of the speaker will come to you in any language that you wish.

His mouth moves to form the heavy syllables of Russian. A word, and in your earphones sounds the birdlike twitterings of Chinese. The miracle of tongues...

Already the lawns are green, the young trees growing. And there, far across the bright lake, the snow-capped peak of Mont Blanc stands high and clear like a perpetual inspiration.

Say what it will, in these white walls the world has already affirmed its unity.

He whose braveness lies in daring, slays.

He whose braveness lies in not daring, gives life...

For it is the way of Heaven not to strive, but none the less to conquer.

Lao Tse.

THIS is the story of the outlook, origins, and work of an experiment which is making for peace in the economic field.

THE present order of society is wrong, not only because its political, social, and economic systems fail to produce the results expected of them, or because poverty, ill health, and other evils are common, but primarily because man cannot achieve a full development of personality within them.

Wrong relationships in any one sphere of life not only destroy the unity of the whole, but prevent the growth of right relationships in other spheres. The right relationship between human beings is friendship—free, equal, and spontaneous.

An Order of friends believes strongly that radical and lasting changes can only be achieved through open-minded experiment. The attention of the Order is not confined to making such practical experiments. It seeks also to study and relate the experience gained in this experimental manner to a wide view of existing tendencies in local affairs, national policies, and the world situation, and to use the results of this comparative study to reshape both plans and policy.

DURING the years 1926-28, small groups of young Friends and others, who had a conviction that the basis of life was spiritual, felt concerned to share this conviction with others.

In the spring of 1928 South Wales was visited for the first time in this work. Here poverty and distress seemed to be so much worse than had yet been realized, that the group felt that something must be done.

Going back to London the concern was placed before the Society of Friends, with the result that the Friends' Coalfields Distress Committee was set up. Several members of the original group returned to South Wales, settling down at Brynmawr, organizing relief work in the surrounding district.

It was in January, 1934, that the final step was taken: the Order was

formed, and a living fellowship came into being. Since its formation, the Order has grown in numbers and its activities have developed along the lines described below.

The membership of the Order consists of those who are able to give themselves wholly to its work. There are no salaries: members are paid, from funds available to the Order, an allowance on a basis of needs. The work of the Order is discussed in meetings of the members.

THE work, commenced by the group which settled at Brynmawr in 1929, still continues.

After six years, during which it has operated in a variety of forms, it now falls into two categories; that of a voluntary character, having Community House as its headquarters; and that of an industrial nature, of which the small factory, known as Gwalia Works, is the centre.

VOLUNTARY WORK

The Development Committee is responsible for work of a reconstructional character, the results of which can be seen in the swimming and paddling pools and the nursery school.

The Emergency Committee administers relief in the form of clothes, blankets, food vouchers, and occasionally financial help to special cases.

The Boot Committee aims at supplying each child attending school from an unemployed home, within their scale, with a pair of boots or shoes during the winter.

INDUSTRIES

The early years following 1929 when various trades were attempted, was a period of experiment from which it was seen that the boots and furniture sections were most likely of survival. Today both these departments can be considered to be fairly established.

A plan for each of the next five years has been drawn up for which more capital will be required if increasing permanent employment, the object of the venture, is to be achieved.

IN "The Times" of November 6, 1934, a leading article, under the heading "A Valuable Experiment", made the following comment on another piece of work carried on by the order at Upholland in Lancashire:—

tary machine didn't happen to be a very efficient one.

The Builders at Geneva

ALREADY the statesmen, the secretaries, the journalists of five continents are turning towards Geneva for the critical autumn session of the League.

While the jingoes cheerfully predict its decease and the clatter of the arms factories drowns its plans, five hundred men continue working in the great park on the hill. They are building the palace of the League, a first gigantic monument to world peace.

Some sixty nations shared its £7,000,000 cost. A Swiss, an Austrian, a Hungarian and an Italian planned it. Its vast library will be the rightful heritage of every student regardless of race.

And in the assembly hall, when it emerges like a great arena from the scaffolding, the age-long curse of

national religion.

Even the Military Correspondent of "The Times" blanches a little at this picture and remarks sadly that Ludendorff doesn't seem to have "any understanding of the higher sphere of war."

We don't wish to appear ignorant, but—well... could anyone tell us what is the higher sphere of war?

Spanish Frankenstein

THIS picture of the military machine refusing to confine itself to the objects for which it was organized, is indeed, one of the most obvious in Europe today.

Country after country finds itself controlled by the Frankenstein it has created to protect it. In Spain is the ultimate and most tragic example.

The military machine suddenly breaks loose, striking at the heart of what it was supposedly defending and at the government to which it was answerable. Indeed, Spain's one hope seems to lie in the fact that its mili-

IT SEEMS TO ME

The Logical Conclusion

GERALD Heard, in his challenging study of *The Source of Civilization*, shows how the military machine, first instituted to fight for justice, gradually comes to choose its own causes, and finally to fight for fighting's sake, without any cause at all.

Striking and unusual proof of this tendency is provided by General Ludendorff's new book *The Nation at War*.

Ludendorff no longer even pretends that war is a means to an end. War IS the end. "Warfare is the highest expression of the national will-to-live." The mind, body and soul of the country must be put at the exclusive disposal of the Military Command.

The nation must "place its mental, moral, physical and material forces in the service of war", not only in wartime but always. To achieve the necessary "psychical unity of the people," there must be a national god and a

Spain MOVES

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(Continued

Spain

MOVES TOWARD ENDING THE WAR

EFFORTS to end the Spanish civil war may be summarized under three main heads.

INTERNAL MOVES

The attempt to make contact between the two sides with a view to "humanizing" the war, which was initiated by certain foreign diplomats in Spain (but actually carried on on French soil) has been obstructed by the change of government in Spain, the new ministry having refused compromise.

The Government of Senor Giral resigned on September 4 and the socialist leader, Senor Largo Caballero, formed a new ministry, the chief feature of which was the inclusion of communists and others on the extreme left, but not the Anarchists or Syndicalists, who refused representation.

NON-INTERVENTION

A meeting of the international committee for the supervision of non-intervention measures, to which the diplomatic representatives of 24 countries were invited, was arranged to be held in London on Wednesday of this week.

Portugal being not yet satisfied as to the work of the committee, declined to be represented. This work was described by the Diplomatic Correspondent of "The Times" as

to exchange and collate information on the measures that have already been taken and to suggest new measures which may usefully be applied.

The British Chargé d'Affaires in Berlin was informed on September 5 that Germany was prepared to take part in this work, the success of which now depends mainly upon

1. Whether any war materials have been delivered by the nationals of any of the Powers concerned since they declared an embargo.

2. Whether Germany, Italy, or Portugal employ delaying tactics in the committee.

The announcement, on September 3, that Italy would be represented on the committee by Signor Grandi referred to the alleged continued dispatch of war materials from other countries to Spain which might "oblige" Italy to "resume her liberty of action." It was reported on September 4 that Finland, Hungary, and the U.S.S.R. had agreed to the setting up of the committee.

Mr. W. S. Morrison, Financial Secretary to the Treasury, who is the chief British representative in the absence of Mr. Eden, is chairman of a committee to deal with this country's part in non-intervention measures.

UNOFFICIAL ACTIVITY

The new Government of Spain was welcomed by the Trades Union Congress when its 68th annual gathering opened on Monday and approved warmly a proposal to send a message of encouragement to the new Premier.

In his presidential address to the congress, Mr. A. A. H. Findlay expressed the attitude of the congress as a whole when he indicated a longing for some kind of united action on behalf of the democratic Spanish Government but doubts as to how this could be made possible.

At a demonstration in Trafalgar Square, London, on Sunday, at which the organizations represented included the ex-Service Men's Movement against Fascism, a resolution was passed which

declared that the intervention of fascist Powers in Spain imperilled democracy and peace throughout Europe, called on democratic and peace organizations to organize without delay a united campaign throughout

(Continued at foot of column 2)

PUBLIC AFFAIRS IN BRIEF

CANADA

A Credit Housing Act, providing for an entire system of branch banks to handle monthly credit dividends, was among 17 measures passed by the special Session of the Alberta Legislature which was prorogued September 2. The other measures are mainly concerned with debt and interest reduction.

CHINA

Li Tsung-Jen, one of the two generals who attempted to form a separatist regime in Kwangsi, South China, is to become "pacification commissioner" in Kwangsi, and Pai Chung-hsi, the other rebellious general, is to become a member of the Standing Committee of the Military Affairs Commission at Nanking, according to mandates issued on September 6.

DANZIG

According to a report from Danzig dated September 4, Herr Greiser, President of the Senate, has informed the Secretary-General of the League that he does not consider it necessary personally to take part in the Council proceedings concerning the incident which occurred when the German cruiser Leipzig visited Danzig. Negotiations toward a settlement are reported to be in progress.

FRANCE

A rearmament programme drawn up as a counter to the increased German military service period, was approved by the Council of Ministers on September 7. The programme is to be carried out over a period of four years, at an estimated cost of about £186,000,000. About £56,000,000 of this will be spent next year. The French cabinet also decided that every possible effort must be made to achieve international agreement regarding the limitation of arms.

GERMANY

A Berlin message dated September 3 quoted a declaration regarding Germany's colonial claims made by General Ritter von Epp, head of the Colonial Office of the Nazi Party, in which he said that Germany asks for the restoration of all her former colonial possessions, and will not accept as a substitute proposals for the better distribution of raw materials as made by Great Britain.

GREECE

The Prime Minister, General Metaxas announced on September 7 the end of the Parliamentary regime in Greece "for ever". He also announced that later "the Government will contemplate the setting up of a representative system under which the workers will be able to collaborate in the national renaissance".

(continued from column 1)

London for aid to the Spanish people, and

welcomed the demand of the South Wales Miners' Federation for an immediate raising of the embargo on arms, aeroplanes, and munitions for the Spanish Government.

On the same day the following resolution was carried by a "united peace meeting" in Platt Fields, Manchester: "This meeting wishes to express its sympathy with the legally elected Government of Spain in its struggle against European fascism, and expresses the view that a fascist victory in Spain will very seriously endanger the peace of the world."

In an article in last week's "Forward" Mr. Herbert Morrison wrote that the absence of expressions of sympathy by government spokesmen for the Spanish Government, the refusal to make use of our influence with Portugal, and Sir Samuel Hoare's speech of August 19 putting both sides on an equal footing as "factions" were evidence of the British Government's "anti-popular sympathies".

ITALY

An economic agreement with Czechoslovakia, designed to end trade difficulties arising out of the imposition and the lifting of sanctions, was signed in Rome on September 1.

The Diplomatic Correspondent of the "Manchester Guardian" stated on September 5 that in certain districts the Italian authorities have had to strengthen the police owing to discontent among the workers.

JAPAN

A Note delivered at the British Foreign Office on September 2 intimated Japan's intention to retain (under the provisions of the "Escalator" clause of the 1930 London Naval Treaty), 11,059 tons of "over age" destroyers and 15,598 tons of "over age" submarines. This follows the British decision to retain 40,000 tons of "over age" destroyers.

POLAND

General Rydz-Smigly left Paris on September 8, and paid an unexpected visit to Venice, where he had a conversation with the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

His visit to France will be followed, it is reported, by a "substantial French loan" so that Poland may increase her armaments and fortifications.

RUMANIA

The Rumanian press pointed out on September 1 that the removal of M. Titulescu from the Foreign Office had in no way affected the country's foreign policy, and the new Foreign Minister, M. Antonescu, declared on September 3 that "alliance with France remains the basis of our foreign policy."

SWITZERLAND

A Geneva message dated September 2 stated that the Federal Government would probably launch, about the beginning of next month, the first instalment of the loan of approximately £16,000,000 for rearmament.

SYRIA

The termination of the French mandate and the admission of Syria as an independent State to the League of Nations in three years time are among the provisions of a treaty between Syria and France signed in Paris on September 9.

U.S.S.R.

The anti-German campaign was continued in the "Izvestia" on September 1, which also denounced "Polish fascism".

The Norwegian Government replied on September 3 to the Soviet Note regarding Trotsky, pointing out that they had not "neglected any requirement in international law regarding a State's duty to prevent actions being prepared in its territory which can threaten the safety of other States".

A report from Riga dated September 7 indicates that many further arrests of "disorganizers" have taken place in Russia.

Palestine

BRITISH POLICY STATEMENT

The following extracts summarize an important statement of British policy on Palestine issued by the Colonial Office on September 7.

DISORDERS broke out in Palestine in April of this year which, after rioting in Jaffa and elsewhere which was quickly suppressed, took the form of a declaration by a committee of Arab notables of a general strike of a definitely political character for aims inconsistent with the Mandate and pursued by methods which directly challenge constituted authority.

On May 18 the then Secretary of State for the Colonies announced in the House of Commons that his Majesty's Government had decided that it was desirable that a full inquiry on the spot should be undertaken, but that the first step must be the re-establishment of law and order; and on July 29 the personnel of the Royal Commission was announced in the House of Commons, together with its terms of reference.

Unhappily, however, the Arab leaders have taken up the position that they will not end the strike until fundamental changes have been introduced by the British Government in their policy with regard to Palestine.

ATTEMPTS AT CONCILIATION

Well-disposed Arab rulers and notabilities in neighbouring countries have from time to time expressed willingness to use their influence in attempts at conciliation. The King of Saudi Arabia . . . his Highness the Amir of Transjordan . . . General Nuri Pasha-es-Said, Foreign Minister of Iraq.

Daily outrages and other instances of grave disorder have continued unabated, and, after a careful review of the whole situation, his Majesty's Government are satisfied that the campaign of violence, and threats of violence, by which the Arab leaders are attempting to influence the policy of his Majesty's Government cannot be allowed to continue, and that more rapid and effective action must now be taken in order to bring the present state of disorder to an end with the least possible delay.

With this end in view it has been considered essential to send further substantial reinforcements to Palestine. An additional division of troops is accordingly being sent there.

Three days before the Colonial Office issued the above statement the Arab Higher Committee decided to publish a proclamation in the Arab press of Jerusalem urging the Arab people to continue the strike and the fight for their national rights until the end, and expressing confidence in Nuri Pasha's negotiations as well as satisfaction at the mediation by the Arab countries.

PEACE NEWS

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Broadcasting

Ex-Gunner Condemns War

Auckland, N.Z.
In a radio talk, Rod Talbot, former New Zealand machine gunner, recently gave his opinion of war. His speech is reproduced in "Fernleaf", the ex-Service men's magazine.

"As we all know," Talbot declared, "nothing good came of the late war. It was a dreadful period which brought out the very worst side of humanity. Our veneer of civilization was peeled off, showing underneath the sheer stark brutality of mankind..."

"The men who fought and suffered stood to make nothing. Their patriotism was exploited by people whose sole interest in their country or the war was represented by so many shares in an armament factory..."

"The latest reports of the commission set up to inquire into the methods and profits of the armament manufacturer read like fiction."

"Their methods of breeding strife and mistrust between nations betray the mentalities of gangsters and racketeers... I, personally, am beginning to believe that the jails are holding the wrong people and that we should definitely outlaw the

I.V.S.P. DIRECTORY

Readers will remember an article by Edward Goodman in our August 15 issue, describing the work of the International Voluntary Service for Peace; for the help of those who wish to assist in this work we shall publish, in serial form, the addresses of the I.V.S.P. Regional and Local Honorary Secretaries.

Here is the first instalment of addresses of Regional Secretaries: **LINCOLNSHIRE.** Miss C. M. Hargrave, The High School, Gainsborough.

MANCHESTER. Fred Moulton, 15 Westminster Road, Davyhulme, near Manchester.

MERSEYSIDE. Miss Elizabeth Ward, 6 Hoscote Park, West Kirby, Cheshire.

directors and shareholders of these huge concerns.

"Their activities are a thousand times more insidious than dope-peddlers or purveyors, and their victims number millions."

The former soldier then turns to his own war activities. "I shudder to think," he says, "what personal responsibilities I may have in some of the hospitals in Turkey or Germany."

"It is a terrible thought that as a machine gunner I have made widows and orphans or disfigured or wrecked the bodies of men I didn't know. That, with no more excuse than patriotism, I sat behind a gun and sent hundreds of men into eternity."

As to war, the ex-machine gunner finally comes to this conclusion:

"No man really wants to fight and no mother wants to lose her son. The whole idea is so ridiculous that it won't bear inspecting."

"The time has arrived when the people must refuse to fight."

(Nofrontier News Service.)

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

BRIEF REVIEWS OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

SPAIN TODAY. Edward Conze. Secker & Warburg. 3s. 6d.

At a time when many people with little real knowledge of Spain and its people are rushing into print with an interpretation of events in that unhappy land today, Mr. Conze's book comes as a welcome change. He has obvious left-wing sympathies and it is therefore only natural that he lays some emphasis on the almost unbelievable poverty and bad conditions in which Spain's peasant population exists. His sympathies, however, do not alter the fact that the picture he paints is a true one.

His description of the savagery with which the Asturias was "cleaned up" after the miners' rising in 1934 will help one to understand any brutality there may be on the loyalist side in the civil war.

THE PEACE PLEDGE. Peace Pledge Union.

This leaflet opens with the question "are you prepared to support or sanction another war?" and goes on to demonstrate, by means of extracts from the writings of military and other experts, just what another war would mean. An appeal is then made to the reader to sign the Peace Pledge in renunciation of war, followed by the explanation that this does not mean either isolationism or acquiescence in aggression.

"When there are enough people pledged to renounce war and to support social justice on an international basis, war will cease" concludes this "recruiting" leaflet.

ARMING IN THE AIR. Associated Newspapers (Daily Mail). 1d.

The theme of this pamphlet may be judged (as if the name of the publishers were not sufficient to enable one to do that!) by the title of the extract from the "Daily Mail" with which it opens—We need 5,000 warplanes!

Its seventy-five pages of extracts from "Daily Mail" leading and special articles, speeches by Mr. Baldwin and others, and a preface by Brigadier-General P. R. C. Groves, are undoubtedly excellent value for 1d.

The arguments adduced by the "Daily Mail" to prove that we need more warplanes, in reality would seem to indicate that the only policy of any lasting use is going to be a positive one with something constructive to offer.

A SUGGESTION TOWARD THE REFORM OF THE LEAGUE. Susan Miles.

A suggestion made in this leaflet for some form of "international jiu-jitsu" to reconcile the principles of Dr. Sheppard and Mr. Baldwin, should be of interest to pacifists, particularly in view of the chapter on "moral jiu-jitsu" contained in Richard B. Gregg's well-known work *The Power of Non-Violence*. (The leaflet is published by the author at Ty-shores, Capel-yffin, Abergavenny, Mon.)

THE CHALLENGE TO DEMOCRACY: A POPULAR FRONT FOR BRITAIN. News Chronicle. 6d.

Several addresses on the theme of a "popular front" were made at the Liberal Summer School just over a month ago, and in this pamphlet they have been reprinted. The case for a coming together of Left and Left Centre parties was put by Sir Walter Layton and Mr. A. J. Cummings; rearmament was dealt with by Mr. Edward Thompson, and Russia's foreign policy was the subject of a speech by her Ambassador in this country, Mr. Maisky.

NEW POPULAR SERIES

A new series of half-a-crown books will commence publication in the autumn to illustrate the spirit of reconciliation and friendship which exists in the world. They will be published by Allenson under the auspices of the Friends Literature Committee; the General Editor will be Gerald K. Herbert and the title will be the "Firbank Series".

The first volume in the series is to be *A Book of Short Stories*, including contributions by Charles Dickens, William J. Locke, Victor Hugo, and Leo Tolstoy.

A Book of One-Act Plays will follow, and in the third volume *The New Pacifism* will be dealt with by many well-known writers, including: Horace G. Alexander, Gerald Heard, Carl Heath, Aldous Huxley, A. A. Milne, Beverley Nichols and Canon H. R. L. Sheppard.

The fourth book, *Experiments in Social Well-being*, will be edited by John S. Hoyland and is expected to be ready for the Christmas book market; among other schemes, it will deal with Pierre Cérésolé's International Voluntary Service.

Films

NEWS-REEL NATIONALISM

Another instance of the nationalistic propaganda and militarism being thrown on the screen nowadays was seen in a recent Gaumont-British news-reel, in which unsettled conditions in other countries were contrasted with the "peace and prosperity" of this England.

Views were given of fighting in Spain, Abyssinia, and Palestine. Then followed "shots" of the peaceful English countryside, smoking factories, men flocking to work, the three Services and, lastly, the King in happy mood with one of England's bonny children.

And all the time the commentator, having pointed out the drawbacks of being a Spaniard, an Abyssinian, or a Palestinian, spoke of the scenes in England as evidence of the "sanity" of this country.

This kind of propaganda, though not so objectionable as the more subtle type, is typical of the kind of thing the peace movement is up against. Movements like the Vanguard Film Association, Women's International Film Association and others are combating it so far as they are able, but that is not enough.

Pacifists should take these opportunities to show people that while on the one hand Spain, Abyssinia, and Palestine no doubt also have their peaceful countrysides, and working men, we too have our wars in turn!

FACTS, FIGURES, & QUOTATIONS

RECRUITING

During July 3,172 recruits were added to the Territorial Army, compared with 2,019 in July last year.

The strength of the air defence units in London and surrounding districts was 495 officers and 6,187 other ranks. This figure is 10,062 below establishment.

BOMBS AND BATTLESHIPS

The following references to the controversy which has arisen regarding the vulnerability of ships at sea to attack from the air, are made in "Brassey's Naval Annual" for 1936:

He would be a rash naval commander who would venture any but his most heavily protected and fastest ships into the close proximity of shore-based aircraft.

Merchant ships are almost completely at the mercy of attacking aircraft... Nor does convoy appear to afford a solution, and it may be

Facts about

GAS ATTACKS* IV.

Poison gases may be classified into:—

1. Lachrymators (tear gases).
2. Lung irritants (choking gases).
3. Vesicants (blistering gases).
4. Arsenical smokes (sneezing gases).

Those in class 1 cause tears and pain in the eyes. This effect is produced by extremely minute quantities and wears off rapidly on coming out of the gas.

Class 2 gases damage the lungs when breathed in very low concentrations, and cause a varying degree of irritation of the eyes. Phosgene is the best known gas of this type.

Gases in class 3, of which mustard gas is one of the most important, cause blistering of the skin, destroy the lining membrane of the air passages, and inflame the eyes.

The gases in class 4 cause intense pain in the eyes, nose, throat, and air passages. The special danger lies in the fact that if distributed in sufficiently fine particles they will pass through respirators and compel the removal of the respirator owing to intense sneezing, etc. This would expose the victim to attack by another gas, such as phosgene, which has been discharged at the same time.

* From Socialist Medical Association pamphlet (Lawrence & Wishart, 6d.)

a positive disadvantage. In spite of defensive air patrols, look-out ships, and ships with efficient anti-aircraft armament in company, it is not believed that a convoy could be properly defended.

ARMY IN PALESTINE

The following is now the strength of the army in Palestine:—

- 11 battalions of infantry;
 - 1 mechanized cavalry regiment; and
 - 1 company of light tanks.
- The normal strength is 2 battalions.

No true peace is possible without free individuals and the recognition of the rights of all individuals to this freedom. No peace is possible between the nations until there is this recognition of the rights of all to freedom and the goods of the earth. —*Dame Sybil Thornley*, in a message to the British Committee of the International Peace Campaign.

FOR PEACE DRAMATIC SOCIETIES

JUST RELEASED:

"MOLOCH"

By WINIFRED CARTER, 2/9 post free.

1 set. 4 males, 4 females.

VIDE PRESS: "The play has humour as well as pathos, light as well as shade, and in writing it the author has given a valuable contribution to the cause of peace."

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These were th when discussing constructive progra tional conference Reconciliation month.

Full reports addresses by t are given in t Reconciliation able from 17 Re

WORLD CONFERENCE NEEDED

Mr. Lansbury's Appeal

Countries Who Cannot Buy

AN eloquent call to the British people to unite in an appeal to our own Government to ask President Roosevelt and Léon Blum at once to join in a demand to the League of Nations that an entirely new conference of all States shall be called immediately to discuss together what can be done to bring the beginning of peace to a distracted, puzzled humanity,

is contained in a letter from Mr. George Lansbury published in the "Manchester Guardian" last week.

"Not a single Great Power", he declares, "is free of the responsibility which rests on those who by precept and example, have taught all peoples that 'national necessity knows no law.'"

"We must not be deceived. We do not merely arm for defence, we arm to keep what we gained by force."

Affirming that "we are not all smitten with the palsy of despair", he insists on the need for statesmen to

A PACIFIST'S "IF"

IV

IF the sacrifice of Calvary can fairly be compared with the sacrifice of the battlefield, how is it that Christ triumphed only by enduring wounds and death, while an army triumphs by inflicting them?

be prepared to make some sacrifice for peace, and on the fact that if the necessary lead is forthcoming, other nations will follow it.

The need for a new conference is stressed in another letter published in the "Manchester Guardian", from Mr. Frank Morris. To the objection that the last economic conference was a "dismal failure", he replies that "the world has learned much since then and the conditions are unfortunately far more dangerous".

"Some will argue", writes Mr. Morris, "that the 'dissatisfied' countries are at full liberty to buy as long as they can pay. That is a cynical and fallacious contention."

"It is obviously futile to tell a country that she is 'free to buy if she can pay' so long as the means of payment in the form of commodities are restricted by a network of quotas, tariffs, exchange restrictions, and preferential arrangements of which 'Ottawa' is an outstanding example."

THE FIGHT FOR PEACE

Against Ourselves!

He who takes up the fight for peace against his own passions and against the errors of his own people, has the further right and duty to attack the great social causes of war: militarism, nationalism, capitalism.

These were the words of Hans Wirtz when discussing the question of a constructive programme at the international conference of the Fellowship of Reconciliation at Cambridge last month.

Full reports and summaries of the addresses by the principal speakers are given in this month's issue of "Reconciliation" which is now obtainable from 17 Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

FUTURE OF THE LEAGUE

More Proposals for Reform

THAT the League of Nations is in need of some kind of reform is a fact admitted by many people today; when, however, the problem of how it is to be reformed is under discussion, there are usually as many theories as there are participants in the discussion!

Even a discussion group composed of such eminent personalities as Lord Arnold, Rev. Henry Carter, Air Commodore Chamier, H. G. Wells, and Mr. Leonard Woolf, is not exempt from this failing, as may be seen from a perusal of *The Future of the League of Nations*, which has just been published by the Royal Institute of International Affairs at 3s. 6d.

The book consists of reports of five papers read at the meetings of a group of 27 distinguished people, together with reports of the discussions which ensued at each of the five meetings of the group.

Early discussions disclosed a cleavage of opinion between those who wanted an ideal League and those who wanted to "get through" the next few years without a war. Although some proposals were put forward for an entirely new League, others wanted to take what is left of the collective security system and to re-build it.

On the topical question of revision of the "status quo", Sir Arthur Salter suggested that any country refusing to hand over a portion of its territory to another country after a League decision that such a transfer should be made, should not be entitled to protection under the Covenant against a resulting war.

Several ingenious ideas for some system of security were considered by the group, but in their deliberations they seem, to a pacifist, to have ignored the need for a completely new angle of approach to the problem of peace and war. Provided the right spirit is present, surely the organization itself is not of primary importance?

CAUSE OF WAR IN SPAIN

Foretold More than a Century Ago!

A STARTLINGLY exact confirmation of an up-to-date analysis of the present troubles in Spain is to be found in the writings of Stephen Grellet, who was engaged in missionary work in that country just over a hundred years ago.

Our readers will recollect that we gave last week the views of Alfred B. Jacob, in which he referred to the privileges which, until recently, have been the lot of the army officers, landlords, and the Church in that country.

It is interesting, therefore, to come upon these words of Stephen Grellet, written in 1833:—

Great is the oppression under which the clergy and monks keep the people by their various demands and ways of extorting money from them. The mendicant monks are not less oppressive. The grandees have privileges granted to them as appendages to their stations.

He also informed the Minister for the Interior of "the necessity of preventing oppression by Popish clergy", and, with his colleague William Allen, stated that

If the Government did not take measures to do it, the people may take the work into their own hands, and it may be attended with terrible consequences.

PEACE



IS



INTERESTING



ECONOMIC NATIONALISM MEANS WAR

Trade Must Be Freed

Paris.

If goods cannot cross frontiers, armies will.

In this striking sentence Francis B. Sayre, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State, analyzes one of the causes of modern war. The phrase appears in his article, "Trade Policies and Peace", appearing in "World Trade".

Everywhere, Mr. Sayre points out, the nations are fanatically and disastrously promoting a policy of economic nationalism. They are surrounding themselves with sky-high tariff walls, carrying on huge "buy at home" campaigns and keeping out foreign goods.

Yet no nation is economically self-sufficient. Every country lacks essential raw materials and every country can produce certain items cheaper and better than others.

The only way, under present circumstances, to pierce these Chinese walls is by armies. When the stream of international commerce is blocked, soldiers are used to open it.

"Unless nations succeed in taking common steps for the liberalizing and restoration of world trade," writes Mr. Sayre, "economic breakdown is inevitable." And breakdown means, "sooner or later, armed conflict."

Yet it is precisely the war system which makes a freer international trade difficult. Nations are afraid to become dependent on others for basic materials or manufactured products, because they will not be able to get them in time of war. (Nofrontier News Service).

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Patience Strong, contributor to the "Daily Mirror".

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Your march is very good, and it deserves wide use. I wish you all success with it."

GERMANY

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

CONFUSION OF THOUGHT AMONG PACIFISTS

A Suggestion

Dear Sir,—Civil war is producing confusion of thought among pacifists. Some say, "I may fight for a just cause in my own country, but not outside its borders." But I suggest that the dividing line is defined by the following declaration.

Although supplied with perfect equipment I refuse at the order of any authority to fight against people with whom I have no quarrel, in an attempt to settle a governmental dispute which I know perfectly well cannot be settled in that way. But when my acknowledged friends are attacked in my presence by my declared enemies, I may not be able to restrain my passions and my temper sufficiently to prevent my taking up any weapon handy in their defence.

It is a matter of temperament. I only speak for myself.

Cold blood can be governed by reason and intelligence. Hot blood may be difficult to govern at all. That is why there is a Government department solely occupied in wartime in making cold blood boil.

PONSONBY.

Haslemere.

PACIFISM AND CLASS WARFARE

Both Sides Condemned

Dear Sir,—Leslie Neal's letter in your issue would be understandable, had he not signed the peace pledge. It is to be hoped that there are not many other signatories who sign first, and think afterwards.

We, who have taken the pledge to renounce all war, cannot tear it up because a cause in which we are interested is attacked. Everyone could sign such a convenient pledge. The hysterical tone of Mr. Neal's letter too, is deplorable.

We do not for one moment condemn the lawlessness and brutality of the Spanish rebels, but we say violence is not the way to deal with them. The history of modern Spain has been a story of revolution and counter-revolution. The violence of the past has bred the violence of today.

Although, superficially, it is a Liberal Government in Spain that is being attacked, really it is the class war between fascists and communists, who, with the anarchists and syndicalists are the real rising power in Spain. We may be in sympathy with this left wing, but we must still condemn the methods both sides are using. Of course, the alternative of non-resistance is not easy, and it may, in the short run, look futile. But we of the Peace Pledge Union believe it is right, and if we also believe in God, or a moral law, we know that, in the long run, our way must win.

The essence of our pacifist faith surely is that we cannot defend truth or right or honour or freedom, by fighting for them. That is how these treasures are lost. We can resolutely refuse to surrender any of them—and pay the price in suffering. That is how these treasures were won, and how they may be retained—in Spain, and in Britain.

FRANK R. HANCOCK.

Hill Top, Rodmell,
Lewes, Sussex.

THE REBELS ARE HUMAN, TOO!

Pacifism Not Wasted

Dear Sir,—I would suggest Leslie Neal's dilemma springs from having signed the peace pledge, whilst having but incompletely understood the principle of pacifism, which is something more than a dislike of war.

He asks "What would have been the result had the attack been met by complete pacifism?", and says "the snake does not appreciate principle." He sees but one weapon (sic) that pacifists could have used—the general strike, and goes on to point out that the rebel generals are shooting strikers. He is scathing of the "brutal and bloody attack, dominated by animal minds".

But surely all that is just war. It is the very thing which the pacifist opposes. We make a really grave mistake if we suppose that warriors are devils on one side and on the other side angels. It is the story told at every war, with our own side always in the role of angels.

The whole strength of passive resistance lies in the fact that it does not arouse the hatred of the mass of its opponents. It must be understood that however mistaken the ideals of the rebel troops, they are human beings, and Spaniards at that (mostly).

Persuade them that they are face to face with a "red" horde, anxious to "ruin" their beloved country, and the rebel soldiery will fight their bitterest, calling forth the worst from the loyal troops by way of retaliation, which in turn makes the rebels more bloody, and so on 'ad infinitum'; but face the rebel troops (not after the blood has been roused with civil war, but immediately the rebellion is declared)

FILL IN THE FORM
ON PAGE 5

with a populace that metaphorically "stays in bed all day", refusing either to fight or to work because the rule of their country has been usurped by rebel generals, and you would have a very difficult picture, from that of Spain as she is today.

The rebels may use intimidation against a number of the strikers. May even kill a number of them, but sooner or later (very probably sooner) the rebel officers would find their commands ignored. Troops would refuse to shoot a populace that wanted to shake hands, and offered them cups of tea.

And I venture to suggest that the breaking point of the rebels' morale would come long before damage had been done that was in any way comparable to the damage that civil war has caused. Remember that the condition for complete pacifism is that no hatred shall have been aroused by fighting on the part of the pacifist.

I suggest to Mr. Neal that if this way out is unworkable because the majority both of rebel and government supporters are prepared to depend on violence, then it is not for the pacifist to throw up his hands in despair and align himself with the side whose general programme seems best to his liking, rather is it his duty to bear his pacifist witness at whatever personal cost, convinced that such an example can no more be wasted on the world of the future than was the death of Jesus on the cross.

STANLEY KEEBLE.

44, Petley Road,
Fulham, W.6.

A PEACE ARMY FOR SPAIN

The Only Way

Dear Sir,—In answer to Mr. Neal's letter on "Spain's Poser for Pacifists" I should like to offer one in which the word "temptation" is substituted for the word "poser".

For who does not feel the urge to fight for freedom against tyranny? The love of freedom is in our blood, and a fierce hatred of tyranny is its natural corollary. But let us remember this: the gem of liberty is red, not with the blood of soldiers, but with the blood of martyrs; this is especially true of our religious liberty. The liberty for which the martyrs died is our today.

If pacifism is real it must not compromise with its essential doctrine of non-violence, even though it is strongly tempted to do so. A strong passive resistance in the form of a peace army is the only thing which could possibly subdue the fierce hatred and cruelty which is raging in Spain. If only pacifism could be shown to work in a crisis such as this, it would capture the imagination of millions; if it admits defeat it will become a laughing stock and a byword.

In the case of Japan the idea of a peace army was regarded as impracticable; is it impracticable in the case of Spain?

If not, why do not our leaders mobilize the forces of pacifism for an "attack"?

L. D. NOEL.

58 Old Park Road,
Palmer's Green, N.13.

FIGHTING ALWAYS WRONG

Too Great a Price

Dear Sir,—I see that Leslie R. Neal, referring to the difficulty for a pacifist in facing a situation such as the Spanish civil war, comes to the conclusion that he would fight on the side of humanity and freedom.

It seems to me that it is the action of fighting which a pacifist disagrees with, however good the cause.

There always will be good causes, and if one admits the right to fight in any cause, whatsoever, we shall never do away with war.

Every war is "a war to end war" on somebody's part, a war for freedom and humanity. A pacifist's faith is based on the belief that it is wrong to kill, whatever the provocation, also that war never really achieves its object, because in the long run it creates more difficulties than it solves.

Every man who joins in a war makes the struggle fiercer and longer, and therefore causes more damage and suffering.

Thinking things over in a detached way, it seems obvious that war will never overcome evil, only constructive pacifism, but when we get down to every day life, it is amazing how each war seems to be for such a good cause.

When we come too close to an event we lose our sense of perspective; we must hang on to our pacifism at all costs, and not allow ourselves to be tricked into another 1914, by a "war to end war", which we shall bitterly regret later.

The murder of one man, woman or child is too great a price to pay for our liberty.

IRENE GREEN.

37 Digby Road,
Finsbury Park, N.4.

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MEETINGS

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION (London Union). A Fellowship Hour, for communion with God and each other, led by Rev. Alan Balding, is being held the third Monday in each month from 6.30 to 7.30 p.m., at 165 Grays Inn Road, London, W.C.1.

PERSONAL

Would COUNCILLOR KEATING kindly write to the Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, W.1, as his address has unfortunately been mislaid.

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FORTHCOMING MEETINGS

September.

12. 8 p.m. Forbury Gardens, Reading; mass meeting to be addressed by well-known local speakers.
13. 8 p.m. Jeffrye Museum, Shore-ditch; combined service for peace under auspices of Shoreditch Peace Council.
15. 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House; 43 Charles Street, Cardiff; meeting to set up branch of No More War Movement.
- 15-18. Lesser Town Hall, Saltcoats, Ayrshire; Manchester Anti-War Exhibition; under auspices of Saltcoats and District Peace Movement.
16. Islington Central Library; meeting to set up Islington Peace Council.
8 p.m. Northwick Park Hall, Kenton; public meeting on "War from the Christian standpoint"; speakers, Dr. Alfred Salter, M.P. and Rev. C. Paul Gliddon; chairman, Rev. H. W. Beck; arranged by Harrow Council of Christian Pacifist Groups.
- 8 p.m. Winchmore Hill Methodist Church Hall, Green Lanes, N.21; public meeting to be addressed by Rev. B. C. Hopson; arranged by Winchmore Hill and District group of Fellowship of Reconciliation.
17. 7.45 p.m. Victoria Hall Sheffield; meeting of signatories of the peace pledge called by Sheffield No More War Movement.
18. 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, 43 Charles Street, Cardiff; annual general meeting of Cardiff and District Movement against War.
8 p.m. Stirling House, Wood Green; meeting to receive reports on Brussels Congress from delegates of Wood Green and Southgate Peace Council.